3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

poses. The proposal was that Klamath and Sycan marshes be constituted two grazing districts for leasing purposes. The Indians further proposed "that the funds derived from the said grazing privilege shall be divided per capita among the Indians of this Reservation." The 41 signatories included the leading names on the reservation. Matthews rightly doubted the feasibility of making such a division; for the General Deficiency Act of March 3, 1883, provided that unearned income of this sort should go into a tribal fund in the Treasury.[46]

With the allotment of land, the leasing of individual tracts came into common practice. In advocating this measure Agent Petet urged in now familiar terms "that some Indians might get some money in this way to buy cattle of their own, who scarcely ever would be able to get a start in any other way." He thought that "if a few of the active Indians could do well in this business, it will be an incentive to others to fence their lands and try to make something off of it."[47] An informal grazing system was authorized. Meanwhile five men—Jesse Kirk, Henry Jackson, Harrison Brown, Frank Lynch (Tall Jim), and Scot Modoc—pushed matters further by enquiring into the rights of allottees with unfenced tracts to graze and expel cattle, asking further that money received from pasturage be distributed equally among tribal members, and that the price for grazing be raised to one dollar per head.[48]

Eight other Indians, led by Charley Pitt, under the advice of Daniel Cronemiller, a lessee, and with the assistance of Petet, erected a fence six miles in length enclosing the outer boundaries of about 4,000 acres of allotments, their own as well as others'. One of them, George Gray, was chosen by his fellows to count and drive in all cattle brought into the pasture by lessees.[49]

Emery advocated a continuation of the practice of permitting leasing by allottees of fenced lands. He cited the contract entered into by a Klamath interbreed, William Ball, formerly an Indian judge, with two whites. By its terms, Ball agreed to give exclusive pasture to their 300 head of cattle on his tract at Klamath Marsh at one dollar per head for the season. "This money," the Agent remarked, "insures a competency for him and his family for a year, and leaves him abundance of grass and

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

gaged them, and many were reported to be hopelessly involved in debts. Despite all administrative efforts to the contrary, reported Superintendent Fred A. Baker, whites were acquiring title to Klamath lands at a rate which he estimated would render the Indians homeless in twenty-five years.[63]

Since that time the pressure on the remaining allotted lands has been unremitting. Of 1,624 allotments issued totaling 247,515 acres, there remained in trust status as of August 13, 1954, the date when the Termination Act became law, only 1,130 allotments or fractions thereof, amounting to 133,000 acres. Three years later, 371 additional tracts had been sold at owners' requests, 107 had been fee patented, and restrictions had been removed from 20. The 630 tracts remaining by October 1, 1957, comprised but 73,681 acres.[64]

Along with income from leasing and sale of allotments came that from claims payments. By the terms of the McLaughlin Agreement of 1901, the Indians were to receive $537,007.20 in payment for excluded lands. Of this, $25,000 was to be issued in per capitas within 150 days from ratification and an additional $350,000 was to be deposited to the tribal credit in the U.S. Treasury, the interest at five per cent annually to be issued in yearly per capita payments. The remaining sum, after payment of attorney fees, was to be utilized for drainage and irrigation of allotments on a pro rata basis, with issuance-in-lieu of stock cattle or other articles to those not so benefited.[65]

Amounts thus received were small. Payment of the $25,000 was made in 1907, each individual receiving approximately $22.00—no princely sum. The annual interest produced per capita payments of approximately $15.00; but a provision that by a petition of the men of the Tribe the amount might be increased to ten per cent of the principal fund led to its successive diminution. As early as 1909, a petition was submitted for this payment,[66] and Charles S. Hood took the lead in enquiring of the Secretary of the Interior whether parents were empowered to withdraw the money due their children.[67] The move seems to have been denied. Stringent regulations, however, were established by the Secretary to govern eligibility to receive a share of the trust funds. These related to improvement of allotments, self-support, moral character and controlled use of liquor, and

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

ability of the subject to manage his own affairs; but unconditional payments to the infirm, aged, and decrepit were also to be allowed.[67] Undoubtedly, lease monies made some Indians, who would otherwise not have qualified, financially eligible for their share of the trust funds. By 1915 most of the Indians had realized their full pro rata share of the trust funds, and annuities were received only by children and a very few others. The children's shares by this time were being paid to their parents or guardians.[68]

A similar development took place in the allocation of the remaining part of the funds, designated for irrigation improvements or stock issues. When the pro rata shares of this amount, $110,662.16, proved insufficient for the irrigation work required in the Modoc Point area, the tribal council advocated that all the amount be issued in cattle.[70] Some 4,000 heifers, as desired, were accordingly purchased, with each Indian residing on the reservation receiving four head, save the youngest member of the family, who received three. Although the clerk in charge of the Agency stated that "all Indians residing off the reservation and who were enrolled at that time received nothing,"[71] he is clearly in error, for issues were made to a number of persons dwelling off the reservation.

Here once more is to be seen the interplay of government policy and considerations of tribal status. The cattle issues were designed by the government to foster stock raising as a reservation industry, but they were made at a time when land leasing and pro rata shares of the tribal fund had already created an expectation of direct cash receipts. In these terms, a number of the reservation Indians almost at once sold their cattle to neighboring white stockmen, and Superintendent Wilson had to threaten to bring the law upon the latter in order to recover them.[72] Meanwhile, off-reservation members were pleading their absence from the reservation and the advisability of using the money instead "to good advantage toward family necessities."[73] Finally, the discovery that many of the heifers issued were spayed, and so were useless for breeding purposes, capped the experiment. As Watson wrote, "Almost every Indian who has been at the office lately claims that he has from one to five or

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

I might call attention to the fact that at the last election in Klamath County a trust patented Indian was elected Justice of the Peace, and a fee patented Indian was elected Constable of the Beatty District on the Klamath reservation. It seems a rather unusual situation when a trust patented Indian can preside as a judge over a court and pass sentence on other people and at the same time question the same court's jurisdiction over him.[1]

Nor was this all. Federally regulated land on the reservation was off bounds for officers of the law from city, county, and state; yet in 1947 there were only two special Indian officers and two deputies to enforce law and order over almost one million acres of reservation. It was physically impossible for them to follow up all cases, and consequently they could not deal effectively with the misdemeanors of delinquents or with truancy from the county schools.

In the 1920's, soon after the opening of the reservation, towns such as Chiloquin were faced with the influx of a mobile population in which the unmarried "timber beast" was prominent. Roistering and violence occasionally assumed major proportions, and law enforcement broke down at first. Within the first three years after its incorporation in 1926, Chiloquin witnessed no less than twelve appointments to the position of town marshal. At times the Superintendent, concerned over the effect upon the Indians, intervened, delivering an ultimatum or sending in his officers to restore order. His jurisdiction, in turn, was also limited: When Arnold brought pressure to bear upon Chiloquin authorities to close down gambling in the pool halls and card rooms, the gamblers merely shifted their operation to Bly, just over the eastern boundary of the reservation, and the same procedure had to be repeated by state and local officials there.

The interdependence of law enforcement on state lands and reservation was emphasized during the depression. In 1931, when logging on the reservation—and with it tribal income—had been temporarily reduced by Washington, a tribal leader, Wade Crawford, succeeded in securing a congressional cut in the administrative budget of the Agency, which from about 1924 had been supported out of tribal revenue. Since the budgetary allocation for law enforcement then became inadequate, the federal officers left, until there remained only a constable and an

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

Although tribal members in Chiloquin lagged little behind their white neighbors in registering to vote (1958), their concern was less with local than with national issues.[6]

A second aspect of Indian citizenship was the support of local government through payment of taxes. Since all property held in trust or restricted status by the government, together with income derived from such property, was exempt from taxation, many tribal members occupied an unusual position among their fellow citizens. The effect was particularly felt by the county and local communities, which were heavily dependent upon property taxes. For years, Klamath County sought to secure funds from the government to compensate it for the trust lands within its boundaries, which were served by county roads, sheriffs, courts, and schools. Johnson-O'Malley funds finally provided money in lieu of taxes to support the schools; to these the Klamath Tribe on occasion added funds for special purposes, but the other causes were unavailing.

In Chiloquin, officials resented the action of one Superintendent, who advised tribal residents that any property bought within the city with funds in trust or restricted status might be restored to corresponding status, even though it had been owned in fee simple when purchased. Such house lots were thus removed from the tax rolls and, although benefited by sewers and other municipal improvements, could not be levied for their support. It was not commonly recognized by white citizens of Chiloquin that a number of tribal members paid taxes regularly upon property held in fee simple and that a multitude of indirect taxes fell as heavily upon tribal consumers as upon their fellow citizens. Rather, the image was that of a people exempt from financial responsibility toward the support of local institutions from which they benefited. Though a distortion, like many other parts of the stereotype, this evaluation nonetheless contained a substantial kernel of truth.

If truth be told, the citizens of Chiloquin were no more disposed to pay taxes than American citizens anywhere, and indeed they were somewhat less inclined to do so than those elsewhere in Oregon. In 1951-52, the millage rates of Chiloquin were by far the lowest among the organized communities of Klamath

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

County. Of regular municipal income in the year, 1956-57, taxation supplied only a little over four per cent. The largest sources of revenue were the water system, the city tavern (which alone supplied over one-third of the budget), and the proceeds from law enforcement (amounting to over one-fourth of the budget). Since, after the repeal of Indian prohibition in 1951, tribal members had become the major patrons of the municipal tavern, comprising in 1958 an estimated eighty per cent of its clientele, it is evident that in this indirect manner they had come to constitute a major support in the operation of the municipal government.

Nor was this all. The sizable sum derived from law enforcement was highly unusual. While the major enforcement problem in most Oregon cities of comparable size was traffic violations, Chiloquin in 1956-57 found no less than ninety-three per cent of its offenses to be felonies and misdemeanors other than traffic violations. Tribal members and other Indians, including repeaters, accounted for over seventy-two per cent of the arrests; they paid over seventy per cent of the fines and forfeited bail; and they furnished over ninety-six per cent of the trusty labor performed in the city.[1]

Aside from a few individual instances, this record does not reflect a policy of discriminatory arrests on the part of the city administration. It does, however, mark one of the significant confrontations upon the reservation. It was conditioned in part by the special statutory position of the Klamath, for as an Indian under federal supervision he was enjoined by law from having or using liquor and from marrying a white within the state. Until these disabilities were removed in 1951, tribal members were subject to arrest for acts not held criminal when committed by non-Indians. During prohibition, tribal members had learned to operate stills, had taken to drinking extracts, proprietary medicines, rubbing alcohol, and "canned heat" in lieu of scarce liquors, and had both patronized and served as bootleggers. Habits of defiant drinking, akin to those of other Americans during the "dry" years, lingered even into the years after repeal.

Klamath experience with strong drink and violence had neither begun with the reservation towns nor was it confined to them;

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere, in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40 percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods." Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are not easily distinguished in dress and language.

The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money" had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly, local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners. The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are patronized largely by Klamath.

In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a small assimilated minority.

Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street. However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays, repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless, lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women. The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have